1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

133 undefined, for while the plain of Pin Ch'uan, beyond the
162 eastern hills, is, as the name suggests, inhabited by immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese, the hills themselves are for the most
[792] part uninhabited. The villages on the lands of the large and famous monastery of Chu Sheng Ssu on Chi Tsu Shan, the highest mountain of the eastern range, which is over 11,000 feet, are inhabited by Min Chia, though the monks themselves are for the most part Chinese from far off provinces, and the place, to complete the ethnographic puzzle, is a centre of pilgrimage for the Tibetans.

To the north of the lake the rich valley of the Erh river, which fills the lake, and the small plain of Erh Yuan—"Source of the Erh"—are both Min Chia country, and though higher than the Ta Li plain, have a milder climate, being sheltered from the strong winds off Ts'ang Shan.
[311] The plain of Erh Yuan, also a minor lake plateau, has numerous hot springs strongly impregnated with sulphur, which is extracted in a primitive manner and sold as a medi-
[197] cine. Northwards yet, beyond a range of 9,000 ft. mountains, the valley of the Yang Pi river and its lake plateau of Chien Ch'uan forms the last important settlement of Min Chia, who, however, speak a dialect of that language which is not easily intelligible to the men of Ta Li. In the short distance of sixty miles which separates the two plateaux, the isolating factors of bad communications and mountains, have effectively divided the peoples of Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

361 Although the Min Chia are surrounded by other peoples, Chinese immigrants such as the Ssu Ch'uanese settlers to the east in the plain of Pin Ch'uan, or non-Chinese peoples, such as the Na Khi (or Mo So) in the Li Chiang district to the north, they can hardly be said to be in close contact with these neighbours, since the centres of population in the rich plateaux are separated by wide tracts of almost

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uninhabited hill country. Communications by pack horse road are slow and rough, and as the transport of goods by this means becomes expensive for any considerable distance, each valley lives as far as possible off its own produce. In sharp contrast to this economic "autarky" the whole country is politically unified, being a province of the Chinese Republic and entirely subject to the authority of the provincial government in Yunnanfu (K'un Ming). The province is sub-divided into *hsien*, or Districts, somewhat smaller than an English county, and the area occupied by the Min Chia can be defined politically as the eight Districts of Ta Li, Feng Yi (Chao chou), Teng Ch'uan, Erh Yuan, Chien Ch'uan, Ho Ch'ing, Lan P'ing and Yun Lung. The area east of the lake falls partly within the jurisdiction of Pin Ch'uan, which is not mainly a Min Chia district, and similarly the districts of Lan P'ing and Yun Lung to the west contain areas not inhabited by Min Chia. The political boundaries do not follow racial limits, being based on geographical features.

It is more than six centuries since the conquest of the kingdom of Nan Chao by Kubla Khan, Emperor of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, brought western Yunnan into the Chinese Empire, where it has since remained in spite of the changes of dynasty which followed. To what extent the kingdom of Nan Chao, which had its capital at Ta Li, can be described as a Min Chia kingdom will be discussed in a later chapter; here all that need be said is that it is certain that the inhabitants of the Ta Li plain, the Min Chia, were not barbarians at the time of the Chinese conquest, and this fact differentiates them from most of the other tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia are rice farmers, occupying for choice the best rice lands available, only rarely dwelling on the mountains, and unskilled in the types of husbandry appropriate for mountaineers. Almost all the other non-

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village as well as a farming centre, and boats are numerous and well made. What may be called in-shore fishing from small boats is usually done with tame cormorants, which are trained to catch the fish, but prevented from swallowing them by a ring round the neck, The fisherman punts his boat along the shallow shore surrounded by his flock of cormorants, perhaps ten or twelve birds, which seize the fish disturbed by the passage of the boat. The cormorants are never allowed to feed themselves by catching fish when the ring is removed, but are fed by hand in the boat ; damaged fish, small fry, and shell fish—a kind of fresh water cockle—being used for their food. Fish caught by cormorants is always cheaper than that caught in nets because the birds have damaged it to some degree and it will not keep. Wild cormorants, plentiful on the Erh Hai, can never be tamed for fishing, and the tame ones are bred in captivity.

Off-shore fishing with nets is more paying than cormorant fishing because larger fish can be caught; they are not damaged by the birds' beaks, and can be kept alive in a barrel or tank till brought to market. This is a considerable industry on the lake, but is mostly in the hands of families from the villages of the eastern shore where there is little or no rice land. The fishing families live permanently on their large boats, fifty feet long by eight feet in the beam, although they often have some property in one of the villages of the eastern shore.

A Min Chia village, even when part of the population engages in fishing, is essentially a cluster of farms. There are no shops in the village, and no trades are carried on there except boat building in one or two of the villages on the east side of the lake, where the poor soil is quite inadequate to support a farming population. When the villager wishes to make purchases he either goes into the city or waits for a market day, when the traders come out to an open air market

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CHAPTER 3

THE CITY OF GREAT PRINCIPLES

THE name Ta Li, meaning "Great Principles", was given to the city by its founder King Pi-Lo-Ko of Nan Chao in 746 A.D. It was not the first city to be built on the plain, for it was preceded by T'ai Ho Ch'êng, also a capital of Nan Chao, which stood on the site now occupied by T'ai Ho T'sun, a village some five miles south of Ta Li, half way to Hsia Kuan. Earlier than this a fortified site upon the mountain slope above Ta Li shows traces of occupation which may date from neolithic times. Ta Li as it now stands is a walled city rectangular in shape, about one mile long by half a mile in width. At some past date it was enlarged by extending the west and east walls by a third again, and building a new south wall. The old south wall was demolished, but the old south gate, known to day as the Wu Hua Lou, the Tower of Five Glories, was left intact and used as a bell tower. Although the area thus enclosed by walls is large, very little of it is now occupied with buildings. The long main street connecting the north and south gates, and the less busy east and west gate streets, are flanked by quiet residential lanes, which, long before the walls are reached, tail off into market gardens and fields. Almost every house has its ample garden, and wide areas of vacant land are used as parade grounds and fair grounds for the fortnightly market.

It is certain that the city was formerly more inhabited than at present, for within the past century it has sustained two disasters of the first magnitude. In 1874 on the suppression of the Moslem rebellion the citizens of that religion, some ten thousand in number, were put to the sword, and thus probably half, or at least a third, of the inhabitants of Ta Li

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312 As the city lies at the foot of the high Ts'ang Shan range there is an abundant water supply. Small streams led off from the mountain torrents have been conducted into the city by tunnels under the walls and flow swiftly by the side of the lanes across the city from west to east. They are used as power for water mills, for washing clothes, and for irrigation, drinking water being obtained from numerous wells.
●361 In the eastern half of the enclosure, where streams wind along among groves of willows, and farmhouses lie hidden among large shade trees and clumps of bamboo, the visitor is surprised, on seeing the city wall, to find that among these rural surroundings he is still within the city itself. Indeed, seen from a high point on the mountain, Ta Li with its creeper-clad walls and the dense groves of trees in the gardens looks more like a wood than a city, a huge walled garden set in the wide spaces of green, watery rice fields.

633 This rural character is well suited to a town which is in
438 fact entirely dependent on agriculture for its commerce and industries. The primary function of a small city such as Ta Li is to provide a market for the peasants and to act as a distributing point for the goods which the farming population need. It is also a centre where the richer families can live in a security which the open country did not always afford; where there are schools, law courts, government offices and the headquarters of an important military command. But though this apparatus of government gives an urban air to the town and nourishes a small trade in books, and other articles used by the educated minority, the rice standard really rules the city just as surely as it does the country village. The commerce of Ta Li depends on the price of rice and the industries cater for the needs of the peasants.

369 The interdependence between town and country is not
443 confined to trade, for the inhabitants of the town itself are largely farmers who also have homes in the country villages.

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361

Min Chia village of Er Gai Yu (lower chicken village).

The main street, Ta Li.

[Face p. 80]

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Environs of TA LI CITY

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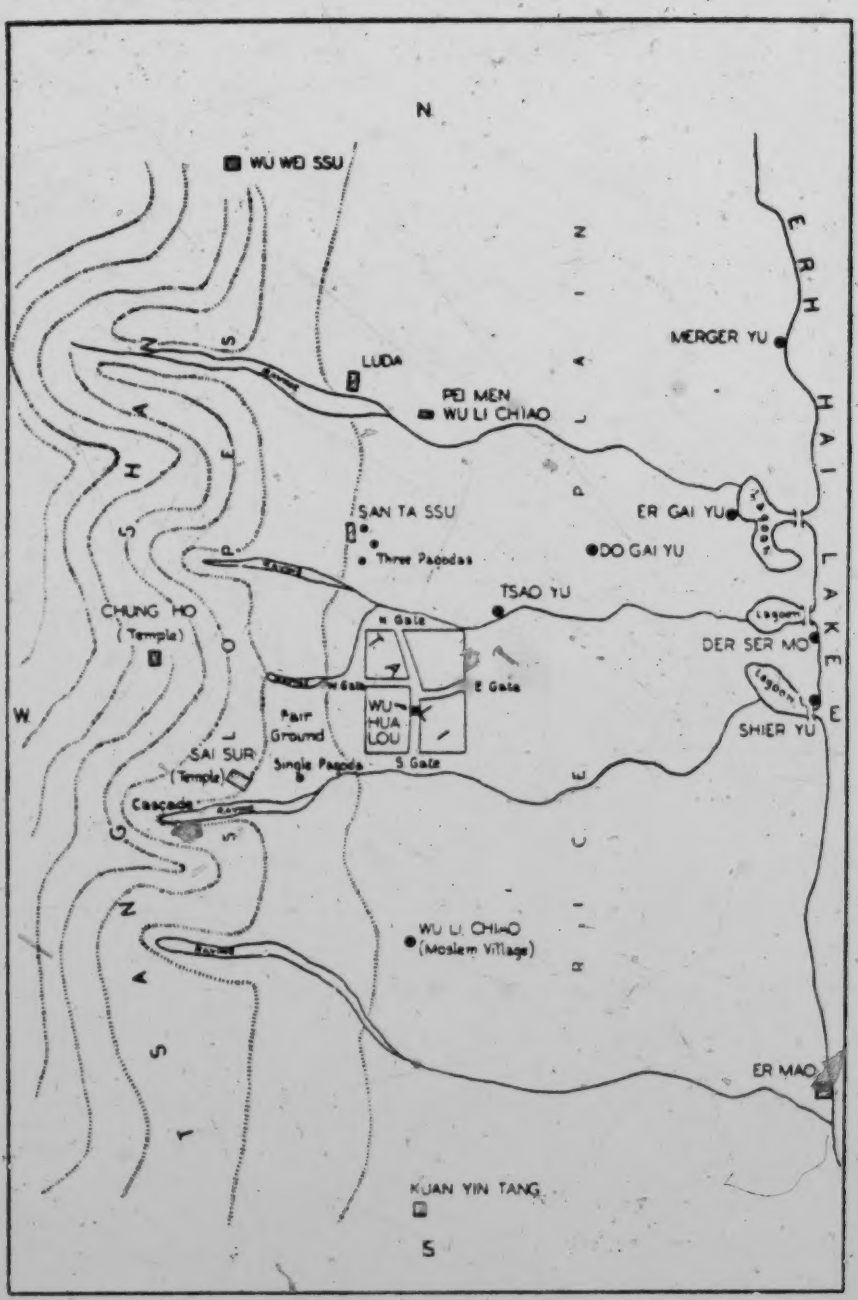
361



[Face p. 276]

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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TA LI District and ERH HAI Lake

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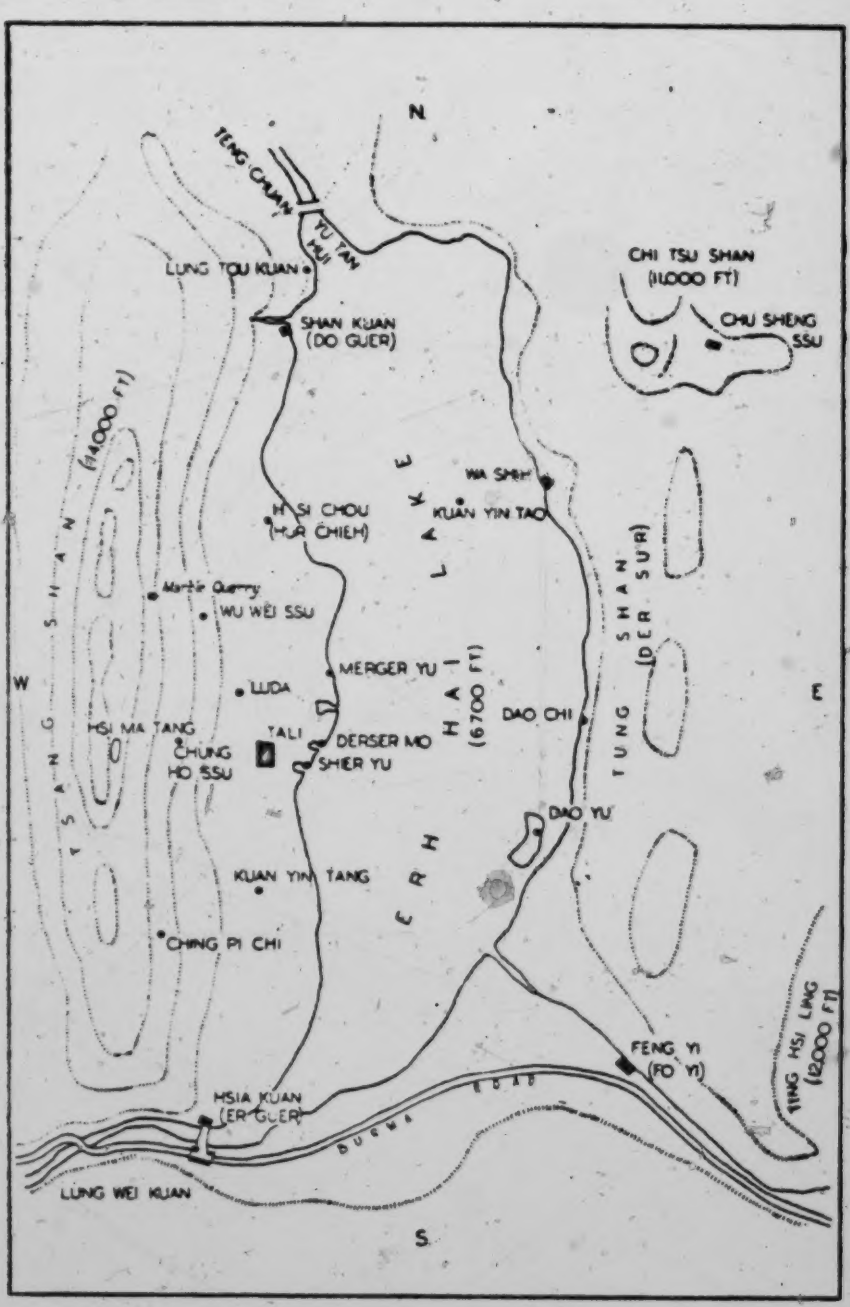

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361

A Ch'iang village.

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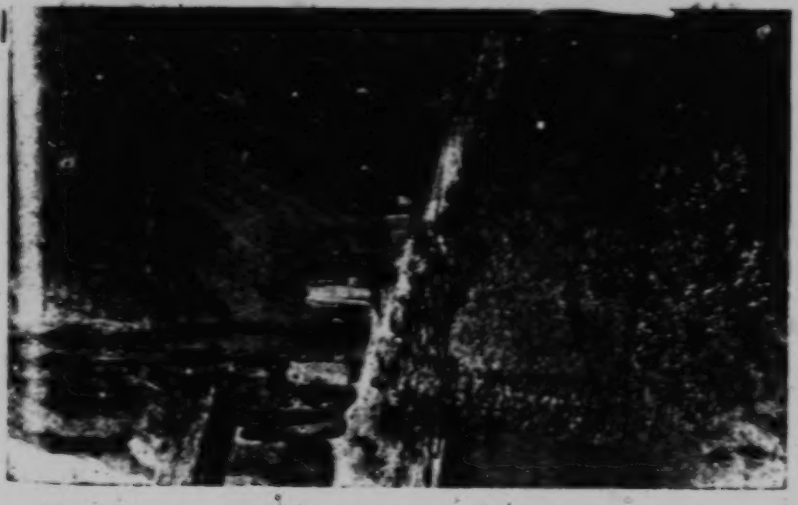

A road in the Ch'iang country.

[FACING p. 34]

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Since the topography of the county is mountainous, the population is not only scanty but poor. With the exception of the Ch'iang villages, most houses are widely scattered and villages far apart, and the roads between are very poor. It is a common experience for one to travel scores of miles through precipitous cliffs or dense forests without seeing anyone.

The population is not only scanty, but the distribution is far from even. According to government estimation, the area of Li-fan is about 11,000 square kilometers, and the total population is around 80,000. The average density of population is then less than 8 persons per square km. But they are not evenly distributed; about 40% of this population is concentrated in the area between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao or Red Bridge Mountain [illegible], where about 50% of the foodstuffs of the county is produced. The cultural landscape is one of the linear pattern along the river. About another 30% of the population is concentrated in the Black River Valley, where about 30% of the total food crops of the county is produced. This leaves only 30% of the population at large roaming over the vast expanse of the grasslands, about 90% of the total area of the county. That means a density of less than 3 persons per square km. Since there is a great deal of mixing up of the tribes people, their social customs seem to differ more according to geographical environments than by racial inheritance.

C. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO THE MODE OF LIVING.

First, in regard to clothing. Both men and women of the various tribes wear long gowns. They are made of different materials, according to the resources and demands of their particular environments. For instance, the Ch'iang people wear long gowns made of hemp; the Gia-rung and Black River people, living in comparatively high ground, wear long gowns made of yak's wool; while the Fan people, in the grasslands, wear long gowns of yak's wool or fur. There is very little difference between a man's gown and a woman's because both men and women have the same style, and both like to trim their gowns with a touch of red, or to use a red belt or belts of some other brilliant colors. All of them, both men and women, usually have only one gown, which is worn year after year, and not until it almost turns into threads is a new one made to take its place. The style itself is really a relic of the Tsing dynasty, which reflects little of their climatic and geographical environment, but rather reflects their history and social inheritance. Their headdresses are different. Both men and women of the Ch'iang people wrap their heads with a piece of cloth, like the Szechwan people in the plains, probably for the same reason, as a protection against the weather. But among the Gia-rung people the women put a folded cloth on the top of their heads, which they use as a mat when they go to worship in the temples. The Fan women usually do not wear anything, but their hair is most elaborately combed and richly decorated with silver and red coral, because in their nomadic way of living a woman's headdress denotes her rank.

Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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Ch'iang

the scenery. The rear wall projects a few feet higher than the shed, and in the center is a shrine on which is placed the sacred white stone and in front of which the family worships. 342

To build a roof, first large timbers are put into place, and thick boards over the timbers. On the boards are placed brushwood, mountain bamboo, and twigs. Often thorns are added to discourage the rats. Finally dirt is thrown on top and pounded hard. There is a slight slope to the roof so that rain runs off instead of leaking through. There are a few round or square holes in the roof to let out smoke and to let in light. The windows of the houses are small, so that there is insufficient light inside, and since there are no chimneys the houses are filled with smoke while food is being prepared. The walls and ceilings of the houses, as well as the furniture, are blackened with smoke.

The main door of the house opens inwards. At the left is a lock composed of three pieces of wood about three feet from the ground. A large piece of wood about eight by ten inches goes through the wall next to the door. To the left of this is a hole through which the hand can be inserted. A smaller piece penetrates the larger piece at right angles, and lengthwise through this second piece is a hole into which the wooden key is inserted. When all the family is away, the door is locked and the key carried away, and nobody can enter, for no two keys are alike.

In the villages the houses are very close together. Some of them are wall-to-wall. The streets are narrow alleys approximately six to twelve feet wide, and on both sides rise the high stone walls of the houses. Nearly every village has one or more watch towers built of stone which are about eighteen feet square and become smaller towards the top. Some are over a hundred feet high. They were built in for times for defence. In time of war the women and children and the most valuable possessions were taken inside for safety, while from the top arrows and rifle bullets were shot at the enemy. Towards the upper slope the top wall was built higher so as to protect the defenders from arrows and bullets shot from a higher elevation. Often the villages are on cliffs or promintories that make protection easier and the stone walls of the houses and gardens may be supplemented so that the village is a fortress. Nearly all Ch'iang villages are called Chai Tzu or fortresses. 361 349

311 in between the dry, treeless mountains. But the mountainous country, too, can feed the tough and industrious population of Chinese and Mohammedan farmers, provided there are /4/ peaceful political conditions and a settled administration, although naturally these highlands (1500 - 3000 meters) cannot be nearly as densely populated as the lower, warmer loess regions of central and eastern North China.

133 South of the loess country in Kansu the boundary toward Szechuan
177 is formed by a mighty mountain range over 5,000 meters high, a part of the K'un-lun system. From the north, only unimportant branches of Chinese culture have penetrated into these mountains, since here the conditions necessary for Chinese agriculture are lacking. Neither the narrow valleys that have eaten into limestone, primary rock or granite, nor the undulating uplands more than 3,000
• [361] meters high are suitable for the Chinese farmer. Sedentary Tibetans or Fantzu (following the Kansu colloquial usage, we shall subsequently refer to the "Tibetans" as "Fantzu") live in the valleys and in the
[241] lower parts of the highland. Even though the summers here are short, crops of Tibetan barley (ch'ing-ku), peas and rape are relatively good. Thus they are able to provide themselves as well as the nomad tribes
231 living still higher up, with the indispensable barley flour. But these Sedentary Fantzu lead a somewhat different life from the Chinese farmer, for besides cultivating their fields, they also raise animals. The yak serves them as mount and beast of burden and gives them milk and butter, which makes them less dependent on crops in bad years, and provides them with an inestimable source of health and energy in this cold mountain climate.

133 You are struck by these conditions if you travel from the provincial
361 capital of Lanchow south through the district of Ho-chou (modern name Lin-hsia) to the famous Labrang monastery which is south of the /5/ loess region in the mountains. You reach the valley of the T'ao-ho from the Huang-ho Valley by traveling through a loess region inhabited mainly by Mohammedans, and through a sparsely settled granite mountain range with a crest not quite 3,000 meters high. South of the T'ao-ho is a deeply furrowed loess landscape that reaches almost 3,000 meters. This is bounded on the other side by the Hsia-ho, and is inhabited by Mohammedans. In the Hsia-ho Valley the percentage of Chinese is again larger, but Mohammedanism has made more and more headway in the course of the last 30 years, partly after very bloody insurrections which were difficult to suppress. This is probably the main reason why the Chinese government has shifted the boundary between Kansu and Ch'inghai farther west.

Meau

If you travel from Ho-chou up the wide, fertile valley of the 133
Hsia-ho which cuts in between loess plateaus, you soon come to 131
steep wooded mountains that are set off sharply from the loess country. The Hsia-ho breaks through these mountains in a narrow ravine, and leaves them behind at T'u-men-kuan. This is the present boundary between the district of Ho-chou and the recently demarcated district of Hsia-ho, which formerly belonged to the Tibetan province of Amdo. This district boundary, which is at the same time actually the boundary between loess country and rock mountains, has long formed an ethnic division between Chinese and Tibetans. The valley at Tu-men-kuan is closed off by an old wall, which may often have been the chief line of defense of the Chinese against an enemy breaking through from the high mountains. When I traveled through here at the end of August 1936, this barrier was occupied by a Mohammedan posse which aimed at defending it against the Communist army of Mao Tse-tung coming from Szechuan on its march to the north. However, the Communists did not advance toward Kansu through the Hsia-ho Valley, but /6/ proceeded farther east, because they were not equipped for the march through the Tibetan highlands which was to have led them to Sinkiang. They would have found the Mohammedans tough opponents, prepared to resist them with determination, although the weapons of this posse consisted almost entirely of spears decorated with red tassels.

Beyond Tu-men-kuan the Chinese and Mohammedans settle 563
only in the principal valleys, and even there almost exclusively as 463
traders who build small settlements along the caravan roads. They 361
supply passing travelers and caravan drivers with food and shelter, sell all kinds of objects of daily use to the Tibetan country people, and for their part buy up farm products. For the rest, however, the region beyond Tu-men-kuan is settled mainly by Tibetans who have preserved their Tibetan culture relatively intact. A few kilometers up the valley we come upon the first Tibetan chorten and directly after that we pass the first lamasery. Two-days' journey above Tu-men-kuan, near the place where the Hsia-ho, rising in the undulating highland farther south, begins gnawing its way into the mountains, lies Labrang at an altitude of 2,950 meters.

The famous monastery of Labrang is a most important cultural 792
and political center. It was founded in the 18th century during the reign of Ch'ien-lung who was interested in furthering Lamaistic religion. Labrang is now an important monastery city with many magnificent temples and countless courts for the lamas. There are said to be around 3,000 lamas and "living Buddhas" residing here.

Mewu

631 About one kilometer down the valley from this monastery city, a
443 small market town arose, inhabited mainly by Mohammedans. Nine
years ago the Chinese government made this the capital of the dis-
241 trict of Hsia-ho. Li An-che 5) gives a detailed description of Labrang.
231 /7/ The Tibetans who live around Labrang are farmers. They grow
Tibetan barley in the Hsia-ho Valley and its lateral valleys. If con-
ditions are favorable, they also plant some wheat, as well as oats,
peas, broad beans, rape and flax. They also raise yaks, sheep, goats,
horses and pigs.

133 Not far south of Labrang the region of the high Tibetan steppe
begins. Its southern boundary toward Hsik'ang and Szechuan is
formed by the mighty Min-shan, a portion of the K'un-lun system.
West of Labrang are the highlands of the Ch'inghai Province (Kokonor).

133 Above 3,000 meters vegetation gradually comes to an end, not,
241 however, peasant settlements. Even in the treeless, flat, trough-
231 shaped high valleys between 3,000 and 3,500 meters there are every-
361 where small villages of sedentary Tibetans. Here they grow Tibetan
barley and oats, often the two crops mixed, as well as rape. With
increasing altitude, cultivation gradually grows less, and from about
3,500 meters upward we find grassland inhabited only by stock
farmers. (1)

1. Cf. Ekvall 4), page 29.

177 Although the Tibetans who live here are under Chinese adminis-
tration, they are nevertheless very independent of the Chinese, and
are not very much influenced by Chinese culture. They are divided
into individual tribes, one of which (the Mewu-Fantzu) we shall
describe more closely in the following account.

131 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu lies south of the large lamasery
of He-tso (2) and east of the "old" city of T'ao-chou. The tribe

2. Tafel 2) Vol. II gives a good illustration of the He-tso monastery.

of the Mewu-Fantzu consists of sedentary as well as nomadic
Tibetans. /8/

123 After I had lived in Labrang and He-tso for some time, I visited
two monasteries belonging to the Mewu tribe: the old and the new
Mewu monasteries (Mewu-chiu-szu and Mewu-hsin-szu). Then I
pitched my tent 18 or 20 kilometers south of the latter monastery
in a shallow valley of about 3,950 meters elevation. On the slope

mewu

301 The Tibetans spend relatively much money on their ornaments.
435 I quote the following prices: silver earrings for a man: $2 - $3 (at the time /17/ of my visit the Chinese silver dollar was the equivalent of US $0.50; the Chinese paper money which even at that time had a considerably lower rate of exchange, was not accepted by the tent nomads), corals for these: $2 - $3; finger rings: one-half dollar. The heavy rosaries of fragrant wood with pendant cost from $4 to several hundred dollars, the thin ones: $1 - $3. The small silver boxes attached to the rosaries and worn on the chest cost $10 - $15; an additional $1 - $2 is spent for the coral in the center. Simple old-fashioned guns cost only $10, but the Fantzu pay $200 - $300 for good modern ones. Swords cost $2 - $40, depending on their decoration and the amount of silver and coral used. The women's earrings cost $4 - $15, while the brass earrings of the young girls cost no more than $1. The hair ornaments of the girls costs $0.50, those of the women $10 to $100, depending on the amount of coral and whether they are made of silver or brass. Women's silver finger rings without corals or stones cost $1 - $2. The brass mounting on a hat costs 20 - 30 cents. The milking hook costs $2 - $10, according to its coral decoration. The women folk of the sedentary Fantzu wear much more expensive ornaments which may amount to several hundred dollars.

301 None of these ornaments is made by the Tibetans, but by the
439 Chinese who now frequently sell very cheap and inferior ornaments made of brass. However, the valuable and artistic ornaments come from Inner Tibet and Hsik'ang. Genuine corals and semi-precious stones (turquoise, malachite) are likewise imported from Inner Tibet, whereas imitation coral is also imported from China.

Dwellings and Pastures

361 The nomadic Fantzu are joined together in separate tent com-
621 munities, but these are very loose associations. Such a tent camp consists of 4 - 40 tents, the average being probably 20 to 25. The nomads change their place of residence three times a year. They move into the first tent encampment in April and remain there until July. From July to September they occupy the second camp. In September or October the nomads come down to lower altitudes and stay there until April or /18/ May. During this time they do not live in tents but in simple loam huts grouped together in smaller or larger units. Each family returns to the same house every year.

The individual tent communities, however, do not always consist of the same families; the tribal chief (Chinese, t'ou-mu) uses

mewu

his judgment in determining which tent community each family must join. 361 621

The winter pasture is always the same for each family. Near the winter house each family plants oats which are cut green and used during the winter as fodder. There is enough land so that everyone can plant as much oats as he needs for his cattle. The two summer pastures, on the other hand, are not always the same, a particular pasture being used only once every two years. Thus one family lives in five different pasture areas in the course of two years, on a winter pasture and two summer pastures per year. The distances between the pasture areas of a tent community are never very great. For example, the following were the distances between the pasture areas of the tent community in which I lived: winter camp to first summer camp was over 20 li (1); first summer camp to second summer camp

233 361

1. Chinese li is about 600 meters.

about 20 li; second summer camp to winter camp 40 - 50 li.

The tents of a tent community are as a rule pitched on the slope of a narrow valley. They are in long rows at irregular distances of 20 to 200 meters from one another, so that the entire settlement can be 2 - 4 kilometers long. On the bottom of the valley it is usually too damp to pitch a tent. The choice of site for a tent camp is primarily determined by the water conditions.

342

The tents (2) are not all the same size. Smaller tents have a

2. Illustrations, for example, in Futterer 6), pages 336, 342; detailed descriptions in Hermanns 3), page 43; Ekvall 4), page 74.

rectangular floor space of about 8 x 4 meters, larger ones about 15 x 5 meters. /19/ The cloth of the tent is a very coarse blackish brown material woven of yak hair, either by the nomad women themselves or by women of the sedentary Fantzu. The cost of the material for an entire tent averages about $50. The floor of the tent consists simply of trampled earth. The tent itself consists of a wall and a roof. The wall, about 1. 30 meters high, is a width of cloth which encloses the tent and is fastened on stakes of the proper height. The roof is made of widths of cloth sewed together horizontally at a height of 1. 80 meters and fastened to four stakes of the same height. These stakes form a smaller rectangle inside the wall, the sides of which are about one meter from the wall.

177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

527 /10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now 233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep- 241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable. 361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build- 565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence 551 of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam- 592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is 582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan. 621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be- 776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

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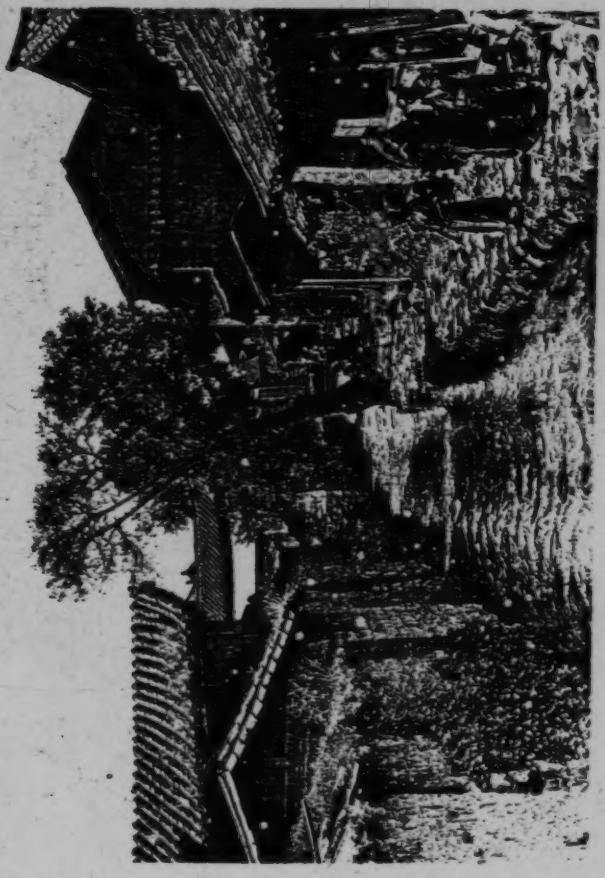

PLATE 53.—A TYPICAL STREET OF LI-CHIANG

麗江市中的街道

Crystal clear streams flow through the town in various directions. The city is divided by the Na-khi into small villages each of which has its name. This part of the city through which the Yü Ho 玉河 or Ngu-lu gyi ñowa is called Gyi-dzhi-p'u.

[p. 108E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China

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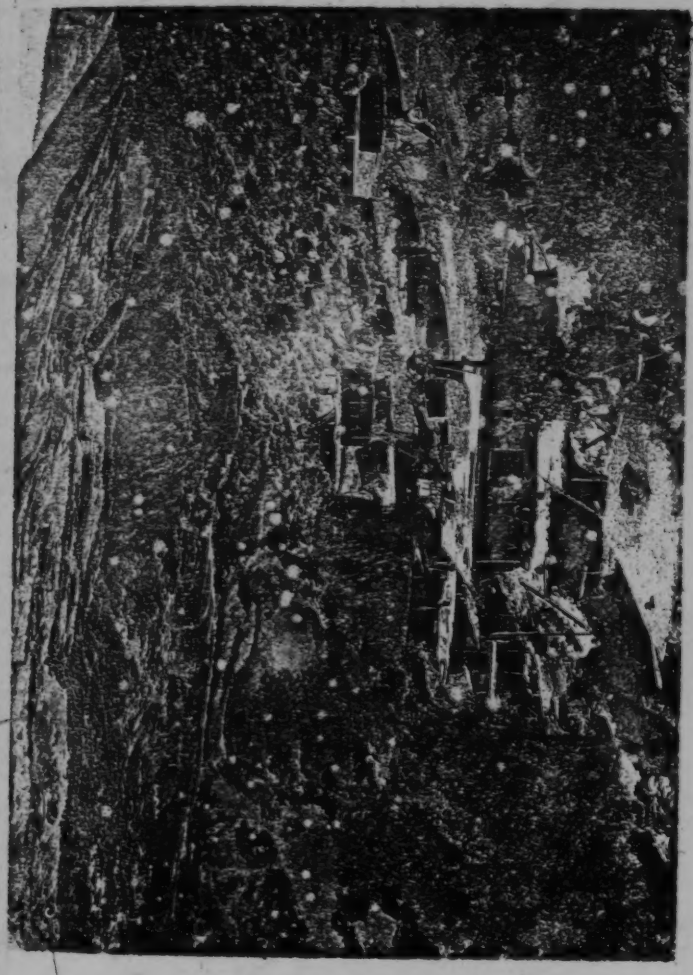

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 163.—THE TIBETAN HAMLET OF NYI-THANG

雲南西北部藏族村落

The houses of the Mekong Tibetans have flat roofs on which they dry their grain. Maize is especially cultivated here. Notched logs are used for ladders. Salt and Chinese tea, rather than money is the medium of exchange, the two articles being scarce here.

[p. 298 M]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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narrow valley, the eye meets wonderful mountain ranges and deep, narrow canyons, all densely forested. Indeed a wild and glorious country.

Nying-ser La (Pass). — From the Ser-wa lung-pa (Ser-wua-lo of the Li-su) the trail ascends gradually, at first zigzag and then steeply, through Abies and Picea forest, with undergrowth composed of several species of rhododendron. To the south the Nam-la-shu-ga Peak [42] glistened in the morning sun; a pale pink sky illuminated the lovely icy scenery, while the deep valley of the Ser-wa lung-pa lay hidden in purplish-black shadows; only the projecting ridges were aglow from the faint, misty rays, reflected from the snow peaks. Higher and higher we ascend, stately Abies trees, 80–90 feet in height, towering all around us, their somber branches festooned with the long, yellow streamers of *Usnea longissima* and their feet embedded in soft, rich, green moss. As the sun appeared above the great divide and a flood of light permeated all, the frost and icicles glistened like diamonds in the morning sun and the entire forest likened a transparent, flawless emerald.

We reached the pass called Nying-ser La [43] (Yellow bamboo pass) at an elevation of 12,400 feet, and a wonderful panorama lay before us (PLATE 186). A tangled mass of rhododendrons, mixed with the ericaceous *Cassiope dendrotricha* with quadrangularly arranged foliage, covered the ground. Looking east there towered the great Salween—Mekong divide with its conical peak Dra-chhen; and to the west lay the huge Salween valley with its central barrier range called A-lo-la-kha. This range is much lower and the Doyon Stream flows east of it parallel to the Salween, into which it debouches farther south, united with the Ser-wa lung-pa. Buttresses covered with deciduous forest now in the most glorious autumn tints, drop abruptly into the deep valley below. From the Mekong divide a triangular spur extends steeply into the Salween valley, while to the south of it, a deep valley opens from the west, up which a trail leads to the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (Ch'iu Chiang 琅江), the Trun [44] of the Lu-tzu and Ch'iu-tzu. From the Nying-ser La (Pass) we descend through somber Abies and Picea forest with rhododendron bushes, and over an open fell which further on gave place to deciduous forests of Sorbus, Prunus, Pyrus, Populus, Litsea, Aralia, and rhododendron.

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Bahang village of the Lu-tzu tribe. — Bahang (Pai-han-lo 白汗洛), situated on a grassy bluff composed of granite-gneiss is reached after a zigzag descent through pine forest mixed with willows and poplars. The largest part of this bluff is occupied by the Catholic mission, with the Lu-tzu huts arranged around the slopes (PLATE 187). Bahang consists of 18 huts, besides the mission, and Père Georges André, the most friendly host, is the spiritual adviser of the Lu-tzu. The mission had been burnt twice in 34 years by the lamas of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, the last time in 1905. For four or

[42] This is the Nange La of HANDEL-MAZZETTI. The real Nange La Pass and Peak is however south-west of the Nam-la-shu-ga. The latter is a Lu-tzu name.

[43] This is the Nisirengo of HANDEL-MAZZETTI, *see*: note 36, page 330.

[44] The Ch'iu-tzu name is Trun, and not Taron as given on the maps and in books.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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CHAPTER V

THE YUNG-NING PLAIN

The Yung-ning plain (Hli-dü, which the natives pronounce more like Hli-di and the Na-khi of Li-chiang call Lü-dü) comprises an area of about 100 square li and is the most important part of the entire Yung-ning territory. The Hli dji (waters of Hli) traverses it in great curves and in wintertime it is the home of many thousands of ducks, cranes and herons. The cranes come from the Koko Nor, where they breed, to winter in the south.[1] A better place for duck-shooting is difficult to imagine. Less than half of the plain is cultivated and the peasants are strictly prohibited by their chiefs from growing rice. If rice were grown the plain could support three times the population it supports to-day.

1. VILLAGES ROUND THE LAMASERY

The Yung-ning Lamasery is the most important establishment and is situated on the western end of the plain, 10 li from the foot of Lion Mountain (Senge-ge ga-mu). Several villages cluster around the lamasery, of which the most important one is Boa-ts'o-gkv, (Place where the Hsi-fan [Boa] danced), pronounced by the Yung-ning people Ba-tso-gu. It is mostly inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi and is also called P'i-chiang-ts'un 皮匠村 (Tanners' village). It is a nondescript conglomeration of miserable houses, the street an impassable quagmire covered with green scum. No improvements are permitted by the rulers of Yung-ning for fear of attracting outside settlers. In the middle of the road are the steaming-vats, where the people cure ox hides and deerskins. This village is immediately beyond the white Chhorten (mchhod-rten) (lama reliquary monument) and the little stone bridge. Here also Li-chiang Na-khi shoemakers ply their trade, making genuine Na-khi shoes, both of cow and Shan-lü 山驢 or serow hide, the latter a species of Capricornis.[2] They also make tall Tibetan boots, supply-

[1] Of the cranes which inhabit the Yung-ning plain and marshes the most common is *Grus nigricollis* (black-neck) the Gko of the Na-khi. This species breeds in the Koko Nor of north-east Tibet, and winters in Yün-nan. It was first described by the Russian traveller PRZEWALSKI from north-east Tibet, where I also collected it, and where its breeding-places were observed by me. Of the stork family, *Ciconia nigra* is often found in pairs in the flooded fields, while ducks such *Anas crecca*, *Anas platyrhyncha*, and *Anas nyroca* are found on the banks of the Hli dji as well as on the Yung-ning Lake. On the lake disport themselves the famous divers with lobate toes which the Na-khi call Dsu or Gvi-dsu. Two species are found. *Proctopus nigricollis* with black necks, and the North China species *Poliocephalus ruficollis poggei*, collected first in the province of Ho-pei. Other water-birds common in Yung-ning in the winter are *Mergus merganser orientalis* (the Nda-lä-lä of the Na-khi). *Casarca ferruginea*, the sheldrake (called Mba-shi-mba-llu-me by the Na-khi), *Nyroca fuligula*, *Nyroca nyroca* and others.

[2] The species found on the Li-chiang snow range and north to Mu-li as on Mt. Ki-bo is *Capricornis sumatraensis milne-edwardsii* David. It is known to the Na-khi as Yi; in their books the female is called Yi-mä mbu-här (Female serow with the blue mane).

5: Davies · G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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Mi-li

Photos by Major H. R. Davies

Mi-li villager

Plate LIV

[Face p. 242]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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last steep climb entailed much dragging and coaxing of our tired-out mules.

Mi-li can scarcely be called a town, as it is practically nothing but a large monastery inhabited almost entirely by lamas and by men who work for the lamas. There are scarcely any genuine "black men" as the Tibetans call laymen. This expression, I believe, originates in the long black hair worn by the lay population, in contradistinction to the shaven heads of the monks.

A very picturesque place is Mi-li, with its well-built white houses, numbering perhaps a hundred separate buildings, situated on a steeply sloping hillside with fine woods overhanging it. The king's palace is a remarkably fine building, three storeys high, and measuring nearly 100 yards square, constructed of solid masonry, whitewashed all over the outside.

Coming from China into Tibet one cannot help being struck by the superiority of the houses of the Tibetans to those of the Chinese. The Tibetan villager erects a really solid building of stone and mud with woodwork of good massive beams, always two storeys and often three storeys high, a house that is evidently meant to last and which gives him and his family plenty of room. The Chinaman of the same class is usually content with what in comparison is a miserable shanty. The cold climate of Tibet no doubt makes a more substantial house necessary, and another reason for the contrast may be found in the tendency which the Chinese have even in villages to crowd together, so that there is no room for the building of more commodious houses.

I was not the first European to visit Mi-li, for Mr Amundsen[1], a Swedish missionary, had passed through here a year before on his way from Ta-chien-lu to Ta-li Fu. He entered the country with what one may call proper introductions, in the shape of passports from the Chinese officials and from the Tibetan ruler of Chia-la, the state of which Ta-chien-lu is the capital. He also halted some days on the Mi-li border to allow time for the news

[1] I believe M. Bonin also visited Mi-li in 1897. My road cuts the route taken by these two travellers almost at right angles, so that I did not have to go over trodden ground.

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Lisu (From Tonkin to India, p. 161). The illustrations in Young, pp. 159 and 161, correspond clearly with our Figure 17. G. Forrest, "Journey on Upper Salwin," Geographical Journal Vol. 32 (1908), p. 262, describes the "genuine Lisu hut" in much the same manner. The Ulu-Lama, mentioned by Young, pp. 163 ff. (picture of their pile dwelling p. 167), live at the border of the Lisu region. Judging from their physical appearance, customs, and geographical location, they apparently belong to the so-called black Lisu who are mentioned by Rose and Brown, ibid., pp. 255 ff. (cf. p. 268 about Lama as a tribal name.') and more recently Gebauer, Anzeiger Akademie der Wissenschaft, Wien /Publications of the Vienna Academy of Sciences/, 1914, Mathematische-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse /Mathematical-Natural Science Class/ pp. 338 ff.--I consider the Henri d'Orléans designation of the pile dwelling as "Tibetan dwellings" misleading. They certainly are not real Tibetans.

do not differ from the houses of the Chinese Shan. One can conclude from this that the pile dwelling represented their original architectural style and that, by migrating from their native country, contact with the Chinese civilization introduced to them another construction method.

361 I also encountered an isolated Lisu village on my trip to Namhsan; it was located 16 kilometers from the Shan capital of Hsipaw, near the main road. This village, Pangsapyi, had /213/ once been a Palaung settlement, but none of their houses was standing any more. At the time

● 361 of my visit (June, 1912) the Lisu had been living there for only half a year; the government had deported them from their original homes at Kunhawt to Pangsapyi because of the damage they had done to the forests by their migratory agricultural system. There, having no fields, they are now working as coolies on the tea plantations of the Palaung.

342 [361] The village had eighty-nine inhabitants who lived in twelve houses, which were scattered over a deep slope, each house different in its size and style, built just as the terrain and the requirements of the occupant demanded (Plate VI, 4). The exteriors of the houses differed markedly from the Shan and Palaung houses in the same area. The awning at the end of the gables was missing. The entrance was almost always from the broad side of the house. In front of the house was a small veranda, or platform, which was reached by steps. The entire floor rested on piles; the piles were adapted to the steep mountain slopes. To the mountain side, the houses stood on level ground (18). The houses were

18. cf. Rose-Brown, ibid., Plate VII, Figure 2 and Plate VIII, Figure 2, where the steepness of the terrain was equalized by stone supports in layers.

entirely built of bamboo, the outer walls not of wickerwork, but of individual poles. For the roofing the grass mats, customary in Burma, were not used, but loose grass was squeezed between the bamboo planks. I measured the inside of one of the better houses and found a length of 4 3/4 meters, a width of 5 meters, and a height of the side walls at 1 1/2 meters. On the entrance side, the roof projected about 2 1/2 to 3 meters beyond the wall. Under the main post was the space for